UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

The Principles of Jesus

By FRANCIS NEILSON

The Content of Religious Liberalism

By CURTIS W. REESE

The Power of Human Nature

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXV THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1920 NUMBER 21

THE SHIPS OF HOPE.

The little ships of Hope I send
To face the cruel and surging sea
Are bound for distant shining ports
Where victory must surely be.

I watch them from a barren hill
Toss on the grey and cheerless wave
And wonder how it is that Hope
Still holds me such a willing slave.

Few gallant dreams survive the storm;
Life's net, so close, so strong and fine,
Draws up the tiny helpless craft,
So fragile and so near divine.

But oh, I see one splendid truth
Cling to the far horizon's slope:
My brothers send their dreams like mine
And join with me in hope for Hope!

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

The disorganization of our economic system continues to be as great and troublesome as ever. The railroads are in a hopeless state of confusion—the coal supply threatens almost daily to fail us—food is ever more expensive and difficult to obtain, with famine conditions promised us in the coming winter. It is a commonplace to blame these things on the War; *"c'est la guerre"* has become the explanation of every trouble in this country as well as in France. But the Great War is more than twenty months behind us, and our economic disorders are as distressing as ever. Can there any longer be doubt in the minds of unbiased persons that what we are now witnessing, and enduring, is the break-up of our existing industrial system? Capitalism by its very nature is wasteful and inefficient, as it is out-and-out immoral. It can achieve its results only at a cost of material resources and human energy, which is essentially self-destructive. Already before the War there were signs and portends of that general disintegration of an unworkable system, which has now come so terribly upon us. The Great War only hastened the coming of that universal economic disaster, which was sooner or later inevitable. We are today living in one of those tremendous eras of history which marks the passing of an old order, and the coming of a new; and we are suffering, and throughout this generation at least shall continue to suffer, the pains incident to this experience.

The break-down of capitalism, referred to above, is the basic explanation not only of our economic ills, but also of the social unrest now sweeping the world like a conflagration. The reason for Russia's overthrow of tsaristic autocracy, said Raymond Robins, in his notable address before the recent meeting of the International Congregational Council, "was not belief in new leaders, but complete disillusionment in the old order." This statement, be it said, is as true of England and France and America, as it is of Russia. Everywhere men have lost confidence in the existing social system. The Great War, and its aftermath, have left not a single illusion within the human soul. The multitudes have little idea of what can or ought to be done. They have drawn no ground-plan of the New Jerusalem. But they are convinced that nothing could be worse, in the long run, than what is actually going on at the present moment; and they are willing, therefore, to venture anything which promises escape. And this which explains the unrest among the people, explains as well the desperation which has seized upon the possessing classes of society. They see with perfect clearness the ruin threatening, and they are made mad by the prospect. They would preserve the old order at any cost, just as the people would destroy this order at any cost. What the cost will be, nobody knows; but that, at whatever cost, a new order is coming, is certain.

Even Frank Simons has at last collapsed. During the War no man was more insistent than he upon the idealist character of the struggle. His pen was tireless in the labor of proving Germany to be wholly wicked, and the Allies veritable paragons of righteousness. Since the War, he has toiled early and late to perpetuate the hatreds of the conflict, and thus to demonstrate that the battle against the Central Empires was worth the millions of young lives that were wantonly sacrificed for victory. To all appearances sincere and thus successful in his deception of himself, Simons has all but sweat blood in his endeavor to deceive his readers. But the task has been too much, even for his facile pen. He now concedes that the war was a failure, that the grand fiasco of the Holy Alliance is now being re-enacted in Europe, that "the recent partners (in the War) are become, not alone rivals, but bitter opponents." And he prophecies in the near future not another world war, "but rather a series of quarrels and clashes between nations, (of which) the clash between the Poles and the Russians is a fair example." What Frank Simons does not yet see is that this failure of idealism is in reality absence of idealism. The War has brought us nothing because it involved nothing. From the beginning, on both sides, it was fear and lust incarnate. This the pacifists

saw from the beginning. Simons will see this also, when his education, now happily begun, is completed.

What are we going to do with these dreadful Bolsheviks? How are we going to meet their confounded reliance upon the power of ideas? Here is the Japanese government engaged in this nice old-fashioned game of imperialism in eastern Siberia. Soldiers are landed on the coast of Asia, sent into the interior to strategic points, and thus as much territory seized and held as seems profitable to the Mikado at the moment. Then begins that strange infection which seems to spread like a fever among all who come into contact with the Bolsheviks. "The spread of Bolshevism among the Japanese troops," we are told in a recent newspaper despatch, "is a matter of serious consideration by the Japanese commanders. . . . Hundreds of soldiers sent home wounded or at the end of their enlistment, spread pro-Bolshevik propaganda. . . . This is especially true among the junior officers. Scores of the officers in Siberia are pro-Bolshevik, and absolutely against Japanese intervention." Here is exact repetition of what took place among German troops during the war, among English and American troops after the War, among all who meet the disciples of Lenin and hear their case. This Bolshevism is a hideous thing, if what the newspapers tell us about it is true; but it seems to make an extraordinary appeal to the hearts of those who meet it at first hand.

J. H. H.

Early this summer the British government permitted a delegation of trade-unionists to visit Russia and investigate the conditions under Soviet rule. One of the delegates was Mr. Tom Shaw, M. P., the head of the Weavers' Association. Shaw is perhaps the most conservative of the liberal trade-unionists, an exceedingly cautious man, and one who has the respect of employes and employers. He says that the people in the Russian industrial districts are in a state of semi-starvation though great efforts have been made to organize industry on up-to-date lines. Conditions are, according to the report of the trade-unionists, very grave. The blockade has done its deadly work. Shaw says, "I think that if the blockade is kept up the Allies run the danger of being ultimately opposed by 150 millions of people." Great Britain has certainly taken the hint and it may be time for us to take it too. Can we afford to lose the good-will and trade of so many people? It is pretty evident that Great Britain has come to the conclusion that it is time to do business with them. Shaw says that the danger of having the Russian people opposed to his country can be removed by frank recognition of Russia's right to its own form of government. Again in this direction Great Britain is moving very speedily. The opposition against recognition is being broken down and one of the last of a long series of events bringing enlightenment to the British government is the disaster to the imperialists in Poland. Shaw says Lenin struck him as a determined man but an extremely doctrinaire one. As to the reports we receive from Russia and the conditions there Shaw says, "Most things reported here [England] on Russia are untrue. We were as safe in Petrograd and Moscow as in London, Manchester or Liverpool."

F. N.

A secret diplomatist objects to secrecy. At a sitting of the Foreign Affairs Committee in Paris, M. Millerand made a statement regarding the Eastern question. The *Echo de Paris* reports an extremely stormy scene. Millerand had the support of Tardieu in his defense of the acts of the Clemenceau Ministry, but the explanations of the government were not satisfactory to ex-Premier Briand. The following excerpts taken from the speech of M. Briand are exceedingly amusing to those people who have been familiar with the secret diplomacy practiced by the French for the past twenty years.

> What is the good of our discussions here? They come too late, since it has now been established that we find ourselves confronted with a complete renunciation of all the advantages which France had secured by the arrangement of 1916, namely, the establishment of French zones of influence in Asia Minor, which are much more important than those hitherto controlled by France. . . . Nothing remains for me but to withdraw. It has been established that the policy which we have followed in the defense of French interests in the Orient has been abandoned. The predecessors of the new Government communicated nothing to their successors, and left them in the presence of engagements the terms of which they do not know but which are no less binding upon them. There are other things in addition to those which have just been revealed.

The work begun by Delcasse has not only brought death and destruction to the French people, but now we find that it is being used by all the Allies and by Great Britain in particular for the purpose of robbing the French of the spoils of war.

F. N.

In sending Sir Herbert Samuel to Palestine the British Government has perhaps chosen as fine a representative of the Jews as there is to be found over there. Sir Herbert has had a long parliamentary career for one so young and he has filled with distinction some of the most important cabinet places. He is a man of great refinement and high culture. Speaking to the Zionist organization which gave him a dinner recently in London, he said he had the sincere desire to promote the well-being of the Arab peoples. In the past they had with Jewish help kept alive the torch of learning. They hoped in these later days that the greatness of their fortunes might be revived. Whether Sir Herbert will succeed in carrying out his own ideas or, like so many more brilliant young men who have fought in vain against the autocracy of the British foreign office, he will fail and things in the East go on pretty much as the concessionaires desire,

remains to be seen, but he is an unusual type of official, one who may get his own way and bring order and happiness to his district. The initial difficulty he will have to contend with is one that lies outside of his jurisdiction, that is the fixing of the bounds of Palestine and the question of the mandate to be sanctioned by the League of Nations. These are matters which concern, unfortunately, the Supreme Council, but Sir Herbert seems to be fully conscious that until these questions are decided it will be impossible to hope for a full scale of economic development in the near East. F. N.

The Principles of Jesus

Shall we live to see the day when the clergy will comprehend the character of Jesus in its entirety, drop their ecclesiasticism, and preach the fundamentals of the religion of mankind? Will they advance the cause of Jesus as far in this century as Strauss and Renan did in the last? The time is surely ripe for a new life, one which will deal with the fundamental principles of Jesus. There is no life more beautiful than Renan's; it is the finest and noblest of the modern biographies. But with all the sympathy Renan brought to bear upon his work, with all his fine desire to reveal the sublime nobility of the character, he failed to set before us consistently and clearly the man Jesus, his thought, and his work. He entirely missed the fundamental principles of the system Jesus came to inaugurate. Students who are familiar with this work cannot but remember the passage where in a few ill-considered words he destroys the economic structure of the system enunciated by Jesus. According to Renan's summing up, the system was all very well and good for Palestine where the natural fruits of the earth were bountiful, the climate salubrious, and the task of producing fuel, food, clothing and shelter not onerous under free conditions; but for the people of the northern climes it was quite impracticable. To be left with the notion that Jesus was laying down economic principles that had geographical limitations turned many a student away from his biographers of the last century to the humanists; and the consequence was—the cults of Vogt and Buckner throve mightily for a couple of generations.

Now the value of the character of Jesus is not to be discovered in the Gospels as a whole nor indeed can anyone who tries to comprehend Jesus through the work of Paul discover the fundamental principles of the system which Jesus had in mind. The notable work of Mr. Ignatius Singer, "The Rival Philosophies of Jesus and of Paul," has made this unmistakably clear. He dissociates Jesus and Paul completely and shows that their philosophies are in no way compatible. Jesus now appears to us as a fundamentalist, one who builds a system of conduct and culture upon a sound economic basis, a system which in practice would relegate all materiality to a place of secondary importance in our life, and his concept of it was not one of labor but one of spirit. Primarily Jesus sought a system which would enable us to produce our material needs with the least exertion so that having abundance we might have leisure, leisure which would yield all the riches of the mind and the soul. The metaphysic of this system was simplicity itself: "The Kingdom of God is within you." And in laying this down he gave us the religion of the individualist, a religion that was to be as priestless as the system would be povertyless. Hence all the nonsense that is talked about the socialism of Jesus, or the communism of Jesus, or the rationalism of Jesus falls to the ground, and has no part in the system he would set up. In a system which begins with economic justice there can be no equal division of the goods that are produced. "The laborer is worthy of his hire," and that means he should receive the full value of his product. This again can only be determined by the law of competition, by a law of competition that begins with economic justice, equal rights to use the earth from which we draw all our sustenance. All food, fuel, clothing and shelter are produced by labor from land. If then we accept this economic principle as the fundamental of the system that Jesus would institute, how can the socialists and the communists claim him as a protagonist of their doctrines? A moment's analysis is enough to show the absurdity of such claims. But it has always been in the interests of the church to lay stress upon the ecclesiastical spirituality of the doctrines of Paul for the purpose of hiding the principles laid down by Jesus, and, under the system of Caesar, this was an absolutely necessary strategem, for the church and state were always bound together. The device of the church to mollify the poor by telling them their reward would come in an after life arose out of the compromise that Paul had to make with Rome. It has, however, served its purpose well for the church, and also for Caesar, and it will take perhaps a good many generations to dispel the fearful ignorance which saves church and state from the operation of the principles laid down by Jesus. "For ye have the poor with you always"—meaning so long as Caesar and the church remain—until the coming of his Kingdom. But economic justice, the most revolutionary doctrine that was ever preached, would change without anger or violence very speedily the work of priest and politician.

In an article on "The Originality of Jesus" in one of the current reviews, Dr. Gordon comes out of the ruck of clergy with a contribution that is of exceeding interest. In this article there is deeper thought and broader vision than has come from the clergy for a great many years, but Dr. Gordon has not yet mastered

the subject that he is dealing with, as may be seen in his treatment of the following incident:

> "There is Jesus' encounter with the politicians, and their crafty question, Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar or not? The wisdom and dialectical force of Jesus' answer have received universal recognition. Show me a penny. Whose is this image and superscription? Caesar's. You are clearly under some sort of obligation to Caesar. Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

Surely this is misreading the very incident which should clinch beyond peradventure the metaphysic of Jesus. "The Kingdom of God it within you," and the one above all others which supports the great instruction, "Call no one Master, but your Father who is in heaven." Such an interpretation as Dr. Gordon sets out cannot be in accord with the character of Jesus, with the principles of his system of conduct and culture. Jesus says, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." This should be clear enough, but Dr. Gordon says, you are clearly under some sort of obligation to Caesar. What obligation? The mere political fact that Caesar's image was on the coin cannot possibly mean that the owner of it had no right to it and that it was Caesar's. The trouble here seems to be that students will not accept literally what Jesus says. Our minds are so full of the confusion of the conditions brought about by the state that we cannot see clearly through these conditions and behind them those vital economic principles which determine what is justice. Someone says, Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar? When the question was asked Jesus knew quite well what the politicians meant by the word lawful. He knew that they were thinking of state law, man made law, the law that runs counter to the law of God. And Jesus knew quite well that in the minds of the politicians Caesar was more than God. Therefore his reply meant, render to Caesar what is his according to the law of God and render to God what is His, but so obsessed were the minds of his hearers with the idea of the state and man-made law that they could not possibly understand that he had laid down an economic truth which would if put into practice make Caesar, the state, and man-made law unnecessary. Jesus himself knew that they had come to tempt him, but he was wiser than they. He knew what the system was. Indeed he had come to overthrow it. He knew what tribute money was. They did not; just as today 90 per cent of the taxpayers of any country have not the faintest idea of the iniquity of the system and the injustice that is imposed upon them. Tribute money is exacted today from the people just as it was thousands of years ago when it was an acknowledgment of submission, money paid to a conqueror. Besides, Jesus perceived their wickedness. What wickedness? Why the wickedness of their attempt to bring him in conflict with Caesar. It is clear enough that the Herodians thought that the kingdom of which he preached was not the kingdom of Caesar, but his reply being a simple, direct, honest statement of fact was far beyond their comprehension. Therefore they imagined he was Caesar's man, and when they heard his words, they marvelled, and left him and went their way.

It is perfectly amazing how honest men in dealing with this incident in the life of Jesus have failed utterly to comprehend its economic meaning. No, Jesus never for a moment imagined there was any sort of obligation, for it is impossible that he could have been a state's man at one moment and a preacher of the concept "The kingdom of God is within you" at another. There was never in his mind any master to which tribute should be paid, so he could not have been Caesar's man.

After the cataclysm that has taken place in the old world, millions of youths are trying to find their bearings. They are taking soundings before starting out upon another quest. The question that we have to consider is whether they are going astray again, or whether they will turn right about face and march their minds back spiritually in the direction of Jesus. We are approaching the gravest crisis in the history of the world. Some of us know what the youth of the world is thinking of their elders. There are indeed numberless manifestations which indicate a dissolution of partnership, and in this dissolution of youth and age we depend entirely for progress upon what the junior partners will do. Age has had every opportunity to reveal its qualifications for conducting the business of life. It has failed, failed ignominiously, failed everywhere. It stands today utterly discredited in every corner of the globe. Dr. Gordon says:

> "Jesus is to be understood, not by his age, but by the Eternal God. His mind, his message, his character, his service to his people, and his hope for the world had their origin in God."

Will the youth of the world seek their hope where Jesus found it? That is the question. Are they to reach after the things of the eternal? Are they to re-establish and reaffirm the religion for all mankind? Dr. Gordon says:

> "If we are to have a great religion; if the universe is to be gathered into the Infinite Soul; if that Soul is to be apprehended through Fatherhood; if man is a spiritual person of permanent reality in the life of God; if the individual is not to be sacrificed to the social whole, and if the social whole is not to be sacrificed to the individual; if the fellowship of moral and accountable persons is the best word for the world of men,

the religion of Jesus, originating in his own spirit, as that spirit lived and moved and had its being in the Eternal, is the religion for mankind."

There is only one way to bring this about and that is by first understanding that we must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's, for unless we establish economic justice it will be impossible to unite mankind in one religion, and if the youth of the world are to be bound together as children of a beneficent All-father, we must accept the concept of Jesus, "The Kingdom of God is within you," and then realize to the full his system which will raise mankind to the highest platform of conduct and culture.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

Hughton, Sask., May 17, 1920.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes,
Editor UNITY,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear sir:—

I have been a reader of UNITY for many years, a great admirer of Mr. Jones (whom I never had the pleasure of meeting), and the thought expressed by him through his paper, and I am quite as fully in accord with your own ideas, both as to church and national ethics.

It may interest you to know that UNITY has a namesake in Canada, in the thriving town of that name on the line of Grand Trunk Pacific a few miles west of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The place was really named by me in honor of your paper. The name Unity was also given—upon my suggestion—to a community hall erected in the village of Hughton, of which I am the founder. . . .

With much interest in the work you are doing through your Community Church, and through UNITY, I am, sir,

Sincerely yours,

O. O. WINTER.

MIRACLES

Wide fields of corn along the valleys spread;
The rain and dews mature the swelling vine;
I see the Lord is multiplying bread;
I see Him turning water into wine;
I see Him working all the works divine
He wrought when Salemward His steps were led;
The selfsame miracles around Him shine;
He feeds the famished; He revives the dead;
He pours the flood of light on darkened eyes;
He chases tears, diseases, fiends away;
His throne is raised upon these orient skies;
His footstool is the pave whereon we pray.
Ah, tell me not of Christ in Paradise,
For He is all around us here today.

The Christian Century. —*John Charles Earle.*

CONTRIBUTED

The Content of Religious Liberalism

By Curtis W. Reese

Historically the basic content of religious liberalism is spiritual freedom. Out of this basic content, and indeed a part of it, has come the conviction of the supremacy of reason, of the primary worth of character, and of the immediate access of man to spiritual sources. Always religious liberalism has tended to replace alleged divine revelations and commands with human opinions and judgments; to develop the individual attitude in religion; and to identify righteousness with life. The method of religious liberalism has always been that of reflection, not that of authority. Liberalism has insisted on the essentially natural character of religion.

Believing that religion is best promoted in the presence of live issues, and that every age must achieve its own faith, liberalism has been willing to hazard its affirmations in an open field where the contestants strive for only the greatest service possible. And this experience has led liberalism not only to free religion from extraneous accretions, but also to think of religion primarily as conscious committal and loyalty to worthful causes and goals. Formerly liberalism emphasized chiefly emancipation and freedom; now it emphasizes also committal and loyalty.

Liberalism has had to face, even more than have other forms of religion, the age-old philosophical question "why?" That is, to what purpose—to what end—do we live? In answer to this question liberalism proclaims as the end and aim of religion, and of life, free and positive personality, loyally and intelligently associated, and cosmically related.

If liberalism can be reduced to a single statement, I think this is it: *Conscious committal and loyalty to worthful causes and goals in order that free and positive personality may be developed, intelligently associated, and cosmically related.*

Let us see where this leads.

I.

Personality.

The liberalist is not satisfied with a religious experience acquired chiefly through confession, repentance and divine communion, and terminating in a heaven of subject existence. He is not willing to accept the promise of a distant estate of doubtful character and location in lieu of concrete worths and measurable values here and now. He believes that whatever the future may be or hold for him is essentially the outcome of his own spiritual achievements. Hence he demands that his personality be free and self-directive.

The liberalist is not satisfied with purely material ends. In his swing away from mystic union with entities of doubtful existence he does not plunge into the abyss of gross material satisfactions. He may go from one of these extremes to the other, but if so, it is only for a while. In the long run he hangs tenaciously to the conviction that fundamentally his nature is spiritual—that a spiritual self adjusts and guides and controls.

The liberalist is not satisfied with freedom alone. Emancipated from superstition and prejudice, he may lead a care-free and easy existence for a while, but

soon the essentially positive nature of personality becomes assertive, and the liberalist knows that positive committals and loyalty are essential to the full expression of himself.

The center of spiritual gravity is shifted from objective and supernatural forms to individual man. This is not the denial of the existence of significant and objective worths, but only the removal of the seat of authority from an indefinite something somewhere, to a definite self known to be native to human existence. This is not a hasty conclusion reached by the liberalist. It is the plainly observable trend of history. The lesson of the long experience of the race is that of the primary importance of human initiative and self-direction. Whatever contribution may be made by authority and coercion—of one person over another, of society over the individual, or of cosmic processes over personal experience—the greatest contribution of authority and coercion is to make themselves unnecessary.

The outstanding characteristic of modern liberalism, and indeed of all modern thinking, is the evaluation of personality as the thing of supreme worth. Hence liberalism now affirms in terms unmistakable that institutions are only the tentative and temporary expressions of personality, that they are frequently outgrown and must, like the hull of the chrysalis, be burst asunder and left only to mark an epoch past. Institutions—religious, capitalistic, socialistic or what not—must now stand or fall as they are able or unable to serve effectively and efficiently in the building of free and positive human souls.

Let us now turn to another phase of the content of present-day religious liberalism.

II.

Community of Interests.

Present-day liberalists see the essentially interdependent nature of human beings; that the fulfillment of the individual self requires orderly, purposeful association with other selves. This thought finds expression in various terms: Brotherhood, solidarity, mutuality, reciprocity, fraternity, community. For a long time prophets, poets and statesmen have proclaimed the ambition of the race to be linked together for mutual service; and now biology and social science agree that there is and can be no complete self-realization aside from co-operation with other selves.

Ideally this is the heart of Christianity. The organic unity of the race is found in the teachings of Christianity. Jesus, at his best, thought and spoke in world-terms. Human solidarity is the heart of the labor movement. This finds expression in the motto: "An injury to one is an injury to all." The red flag is meant to be symbolic of the blood of the race. The latest and best type of statesmanship thinks in world terms. We are now becoming accustomed to world issues, programs and achievements.

Religious liberalism constantly aims to promote the widest possible human comradeship and the closest possible human fellowship. And this aim is underwritten by the knowledge that co-operation and not competition is the dominant factor in the growth of the race.

In the most intimate of human relationships, the home, we know no complete satisfaction apart from the good of those whom we love. Notions of the exact character of this relationship, laws, defining its social responsibilities may and do and should change with changing time; but always the race finds deep and abiding satisfaction in the solidarity of what we call the home. We now know that the positive sentiments and other hard facts of the solidarity of the home belong essentially to other social relationships. In industry we are trying as never before, and with a measure of success, to reorganize on the basis of community of interest. So with other relationships. The old notion that the individual experiencing good can be an isolated individual has gone forever.

The legacy from the best prophets of the past is a conception of a united world. The coming order is a world order. And any religion that hesitates to proclaim this gospel is neither an heir of the prophets of the past nor the parent of the achievement of the future.

The cohesive principle in the achievement of this human world order is radical good-will. This leads to the new competition, competition in the rendering of service. The pride of the old professions—law, medicine, ministry—is in the rendering of the greatest service. The spirit of the old professions must be fused into the social order from bottom to top—from the corner grocery to the League of Nations.

Liberalists think of Democracy not only as freedom and equality of opportunity but also as *mutual assistance in the use of freedom and opportunity.* To take one class off the shoulder of another class is not enough. All people must work shoulder to shoulder.

Radical good-will alone does not satisfy modern liberalism. Now comes the demand on good-will, to develop a technique for making itself effective in the world of hard facts. Social science is still in its infancy. There is room for and need of creative statesmanship in the reorganization of human relationships. How to secure food, shelter, and clothes without losing one's soul is a pressing problem. At last humanity has rebelled against a state of affairs that requires the forfeiture of the soul in order to acquire a rag, a shack, and a loaf of bread. In the solution of the problems involved in the rescue of the soul from the clutch of mammon are causes worthy of committal and loyalty. Liberalism declares that the church needs to understand the economic expression of brotherhood, and that everybody needs to understand the spiritual significance of economic co-operation. The next step in world progress is the proper co-ordination of economic forces with intellectual, moral, and spiritual forces.

III.

Cosmic Co-operation.

In the past the basic content of most religions has been that of the submission of persons to god or gods, and the consequent appropriation of worths. In these systems of religion man was worthful because he participated in or was possessed by supernatural beings. In virtue of this relation man received a supply of finished goods. In these systems men got their rights, powers, and goods by a serval tenure. There was submission from below and control from above. This monarchic view of religion rose to its noblest height in the expressions, "Thy will be done."

This view has been brought over into the hymnology and liturgy of liberalism, but fortunately it has had very little place in the thought and life of the rank

and file of liberalists. This may be why so few of the liberal laity take part in the service of worship.

The realm of the divine is now subject to investigation. Here, as elsewhere, the scientific method is being applied. Here regulated observation and experiment may result in new theological discoveries and consequent intelligent associations of man with god or gods. But until such result, liberalism must remain undogmatic in regard to God. Liberalism is building a religion that would not be shaken even if the very thought of God were to pass away. The theology of Augustine and that of Channing, the theology of Billy Sunday and that of H. G. Wells could all be wrong without affecting the religion of the liberalists.

Nevertheless, the liberalist should and does recognize the fact that cosmic processes are operative, and that increasingly man is able to co-operate with them and in a measure control them. In nature there is wisdom beyond our present power fully to comprehend. This is seen in the amoeba as it adjusts its structure for the attainment of the ends desired; in the living protoplastic cells on the ends of the rutlets of bean and of wheat, both apparently identical, the one refusing the flint, the other receiving it; in the co-operative colony of the sponge and the daisy, the bee and the wolf; in the marvelous nural system of man; and in the league of solar systems.

To the ancients the contemplation of cosmic events led to the theory of direct supernatural operation or to that of the use of natural forces by personal supernatural agencies. But to an increasing number of serious thinkers and to an innumerable host of liberals everywhere the *contemplation* of cosmic events has given way to *regulated observation of and experiment* with cosmic process, and this has led to conscious co-operation with and partial control of cosmic processes. Supernatural agencies and laws are giving way to natural modes and processes. And with this must go much of the nomenclature and forms of worship of the religions of the world.

Liberalism understands spirituality to be man at his best, sane in mind, healthy in body, dynamic in personality; honestly facing the hardest facts, conquering and not fleeing from his gravest troubles; committed to the most worthful causes, loyal to the best ideals; ever hoping, striving, and achieving. To know one's self as inherently worthful, actually to find fullest self-expression in the widest human service, and consciously to become a co-worker with cosmic processes is spiritual experience deep and abiding.

RECONCILIATION.

When you are standing at your hero's grave,
Or near some homeless village where he died,
Remember, through your heart's rekindling pride,
The German soldiers who were loyal and brave.

Men fought like brutes; and hideous things were done;
And you have nourished hatred, harsh and blind.
But in that Golgotha perhaps you'll find
The mothers of the men who killed your son.

From The Paths of Glory, —*Siegfried Sassoon.*
George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

The Power of Human Nature

The assertion is repeatedly made that war will continue because of human nature. Likewise, it is declared that Socialism is impossible because it is contrary to the tendencies of human nature, which are such as to forbid its ever coming into operation. Are these assertions true? Without regard to war and Socialism, we may question if human nature is of such a kind as these dicta indicate. When we give it careful consideration, we must recognize that it has two factors which must be studied thoroughly before we can accept these assertions as valid.

At the basis of what is called "human nature" is physical or congenital heredity. We recognize that this is of such a nature that it cannot be changed essentially except by a long process of the transmission of hereditary traits. Here we find instincts, which have been built up in the human organism as the result of the experiences of the race, coming down to us through hundreds of thousands of years. Consequently, these cannot be readily changed, and we therefore bring with us from the past of the race the qualities of pugnacity, self-assertion, disposition to resent injuries, and aggressiveness of all kinds. Because the race has been pugnacious and warlike, we have a disposition to hatred, conflict, resentment, and self-assertion. Man is warlike because men have been at war through many ages of the past. Some ethnologists are of the opinion that the early peoples, those which are called "primitive," were peaceful. If this is true, then the warlike disposition we inherit has been acquired in the course of the more advanced or the civilized ages. It is a developed, not an original trait of human nature. It is outgrowth of society, of the conflicts of tribes and nations, product of industrial political and economic interests. Accordingly, we may regard the warlike disposition as an acquired, and not as a distinctly primitive, trait of human nature.

This is quite in accordance with many facts we may study in regard to the history of nations, and the processes by which they have been transformed in their dispositions and habits. The fundamental instincts remain the same through all ages, except as they have been modified as the result of long processes of modified experiences. Habits are acquired by peoples as by individuals, and these qualify the nature and processes of the instincts. As the individual acquires habits as the result of repeated actions until they become fixed in the impulses to conduct, the same is true of peoples, who acquire fresh social lines of conduct, or what we would call habits in the individual. The social habits of one age may be in a considerable degree modified in a later age, as the result of the imitation of some other people, the acquisition of fresh experiences or the acceptance of new social convictions. This is the second of the factors noted above.

Those who are familiar with the history of the Japanese during the last century know that a very considerable change has taken place in their political and social convictions since the island kingdom was opened up to contact with the outside world. Feudalism has been discarded, and nationalism has been accepted. The hereditary life, the life of the racial instincts, has not been essentially changed; but the political and the social ideals have been to a considerable degree modified. The intellectual habits, the religious beliefs, and the social customs have been changed to a remarkable

degree. This transformation of the Japanese people has not only been very considerable in extent, but it has seemed to modify the very nature of the Japanese mind to an appreciable extent. The nation has passed from an attitude of isolation, preference for inner autonomy, reliance on its own habits and laws and ideals, to one in which it has come to take a prominent place among the imperialistic and aggressive peoples, that lead the world in warlike disposition and assertiveness. It is true, that the old Japanese traits remain, at least, all those which were most feudalistic, and nationally dominant. The change in this people, however, has been noted by every observer, and it is of such a nature, and to such a degree revolutionary, that it is impossible to ignore it. Perhaps no other modern nation has undergone such a transformation as may be noted in Japan.

Has this been a change in human nature? As regards hereditary, and the instincts which develop from it, it has not been such a change. The warlike disposition of the Japanese was there before, as their feudalism proves. But as concerns their industrial and social habits, the change has been most remarkable, even extraordinary, rarely paralleled in any other nation or age. The military, the national, and the social ideals of the Japanese are not what they were fifty years ago. If the Shinto religion is adhered to to a large extent, there is no doubt that the religion of the Japanese has been modified to an appreciable degree, not so much because a considerable number of them have become Christians, as because the whole national outlook upon the problems of religion has undergone a revolutionary modification as the result of the contact of this people with those of the western nations. The process was begun some centuries ago by the acceptance of Buddhism; but the modification has been more radical and far more rapid in the last half-century.

A parallel change may be noted in Germany during the last century, and especially since the period of the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. Before the time of the French revolution, and during the era of the aggressiveness of Napoleon Bonaparte, Germany was peaceful, idealistic, given to philosophy, and the leader of the nations in a broad and liberal culture. From the days of Bismarck Germany has undergone a marked change of mental habit, of political theory, of religious belief, and of social ideals. Her culture has become opinionated, narrow, militaristic, and aggressive. Her religion has grown dogmatic, metaphysical, rationalistic, and sectarian. At the basis of this change may be found industrial and economic causes, the desire for larger territory, a broader field of commercial activity, the growth of the imperialistic habit of mind, and a largely increased demand for self-assertion on the part of the nation. The mental and moral attitude of the nation of a century ago has seemed to have disappeared in considerable degree, and a new national habit, unknown to the Germans of the age of Kant and Fichte and Goethe, has come into existence. These thinkers have been replaced by Bismarck, Troltsche, and Nietzsche. What must surprise those who say that human nature is always the same, is the fact that the whole German nation, with few exceptions, has been hypnotized or obsessed by the new teachings. It has not been the professors and philosophers only who have accepted the new teachings, but all classes seem to have been ready to receive them with implicit confidence. Even the Socialists, fighting enemies of the autocracy, have been grasped in the mental sweep of the new Germanism. In fact, the whole nation has been caught up with the tendency to self-assertion of its rights as a nation—the right to dominate other nations, not merely for its own profit, but that it may indoctrinate them with its culture and its ideals. As much as the Hebrews of old, the Germans of recent years have regarded their nation as beloved of God, and under his special protection. It has been maintained with all sincerity that the German nation has had a mission to the world, to bring it into the true faith, to lead it in the way the Almighty would have it go.

What is striking about all this is, that this mental attitude, this psychological obsession, has developed since the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, and has grown with great rapidity. In some degree the germs of this idea have existed since the time of Frederick the Great; but it had not come into definite expression until the day of Bismarck. If he was its incarnation, its practical embodiment, many others have been ready to act with him, and to emphasize and carry to completion what he definitely made use of in forming the German Empire. He furnished the practical determinations, but others have provided the theoretical statement of this conception of the German mission to the world.

Here we have a phase of human nature much truer to fact than that which is usually designated by the appeal to that phrase. Nor is it to be found only among the Japanese and Germans, for it is to be seen widely in the past and the present. We may attribute this phase of human nature to the psychology of the mind, especially as it presents itself in national ideas and movements. It is not enough to say, however, that the mind is of such a nature that it acts in accordance with selfish and aggressive motives. As Robert H. Lowie says, in his recently published "Primitive Society," we are not here "dealing with simple psychological facts, but with psychological facts socially determined." He goes on to say that social norms become established in tribes and nations, and it is in obedience to these norms that nations differ from each other, and act in the manner which is characteristic of them as nations. Because of the very fact that these norms are social in their origin and in their nature, they change from time to time. Why they change in any particular instance, it is not always easy to say; but that they do change, and change rapidly, we may see as the result of any thorough study of the history of Japan and Germany.

What we are dealing with, therefore, is not individual human nature as such, but socialized human nature, the characteristics of the herd, the social fellowship, the national ideals and trends of thought and action. These change with each generation on the part of all progressive peoples, and necessarily so, if they are to keep alive, and if they are to make any forward movements in their culture and civilization. As we have seen, a nation may seem to have very largely changed its nature within a generation or two, owing to its contact with other nations, the impulsion of fresh ideas and motives, and the stimulus of new industrial and economic incentives.

We shall not understand human nature, and especially national human nature until we dismiss the idea

that the nation is made up of a certain number of thousands or millions of individuals, with no common impulsion of thought and purpose. What acts in making war, in the growth of imperialism, in the trend towards democracy, is not the ideas of a few leaders or the thinking of a great number of persons as persons; but that which makes the national consciousness, gives the nation its distinctive character, develops in it something more than public opinion, namely, community of thought, feeling, and motive. It is this community of social motive, this impulsion as of a common life, which is the human nature which counts in all great national movements.

We may refuse to accept the idea that there is a national mind, that the individual human nature is determined by the compulsion of the national will; but we must recognize, if we attempt to account for the very idea of nationality, that there is a social force compelling common action, and even common thinking. Psychological facts are socially determined, and until we recognize that element in human nature we are not likely to comprehend why there are great mass movements of men in war, in ideals, in ethical impulsions, and in political determinations. China and Russia and Germany have not recently accepted the democratic idea and become republics because this man and that man has been thinking democratically; but because the social trend of the time is in that direction. Only with various outward changes, as the revolution in Russia and the collapse of autocracy in Germany, has it been possible that the developing demand for democratic institutions has found its opportunity for expression.

Human nature is human nature; but it includes not only that form of it found in the individual, but also that form of it found in the nation or other social grouping. What counts for most is the social grouping, and not the individual ideas and incentives. The great man does no more than to apprehend what the nation is desiring and striving for, what it is coming to find as its new inner life. He is great, and is so accounted, because he thinks aloud what many others are striving to make their own in the fresh developing national voice. The great man keeps his ear to the ground, he hears the inner voices of the people, he becomes the incarnation of their longings and their strivings. Only in that way does his life have meaning, so that he becomes the guide and leader of his nation. In him the nation finds manifestation of itself.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

PILGRIM'S PRAYER.

Lone, when the day is done,
When all the Light grows dim,
When to the setting sun
Rises the Vesper Hymn.

Let us stand heart to heart,
We who have toiled so far,
Bidding the day depart—
Seeking the risen Star.

—*Dana Burnet.*

War and Religion

By Charles E. Beals

VIII.—VOLUNTEERING FOR THE HIGHER SOLDIERY.

In the entire history of the world there never has been a crisis so grave as the present. The issue is headed up: War must be eliminated (or transformed), or civilization will collapse. In view of the invention of new and deadlier enginery of war, in view of the utilization of poisonous gases, electricity, etc., the extinction of the human race becomes a possibility and a probability if men will not stop warring. Even if mankind escapes extinction in actual battle, militarism leads into a blind alley of bankruptcy, famine, and anarchy, so that physical destruction becomes only a question of time. Moreover, under militarism, straight thinking becomes impossible, world housekeeping is carried on unscientifically and wastefully, and social disaster impends. In matters political, militarism allows room for only one form of government, namely, dictatorship, thus forever blasting "the hope of freedom's year." The type of courage fostered by militarists is of the lowest order—purely animalistic. The war man cannot understand men who are bravely loyal to high moral ideals; his one method of dealing with such is to clap them into prison, subject them to bodily torture, and shoot or hang them. The war system wastes heroism and heroes, ruthlessly sacrificing millions of human lives for the old, vulgar ends of land-grabbing and empire. Morality is paralyzed by militarism. Martial discipline and personal morals run counter to each other. In war time humaneness, recognition of personal moral accountability, and loyalty to pan-human welfare are forbidden, declared treasonable and made punishable with the heaviest penalty. Religion's plight under a war regime is pitiable indeed. During a state of international hostilities, ethical religion simply is put out of commission. Hence thoughtful men more and more are coming to realize that probably neither democracy nor religion could survive another war such as we have just passed through.

Two opposing ideals are in death grapple—superman *versus* crossbearer. The question is whether the brutal, self-seeking mammonism of Machiavelli, of Nietzsche, of Napoleon, of czars and kaisers and profiteers shall prevail, or whether the spirit of the Nazarene Crossbearer shall triumph. The two cannot go on together. One or the other must give way and go down. The would-be superman believes in the involuntary sacrifice of the weak to the strong. The follower of the Crossbearer regards self-sacrifice as imperatively obligatory when the welfare of the pan-human group requires it. Supermanism is rampant. There is not a nation in the world which puts its trust in anything but military force. Flagrant international injustices at this moment are being shamelessly committed by the most "Christian" governments because military preponderance enables them to do these things. Business is a stenchful slough of anti-ethical cannibalism in which wallow bloated monopolies gnash upon the public with greedy tusks, while government functions and national armaments are prostituted to the unholy task of raking out bloody dividends for godless profiteers and bolstering up an outgrown and iniquitous business system. Supermanism sinks

the world deeper and deeper in the mire. There is no hope of ending war by more war, no hope of making the world better by shedding more human blood. Supermanism devastates only; it can do nothing constructive. Vain is the expectation of righting wrongs and of improving institutions by war. The hope of civilization lies in another direction, namely, cross-bearing. Quarrel with the plan of the universe as we may, it ever remains true that the best way to help the world forward is to die for it.

Life's central principle is self-sacrifice. Where life is, there, of necessity, self-sacrifice is. In the realm of plant life, blossoms must die that seeds may grow and life be handed on. In the animal kingdom, from propagation by segmentation of cell in tiny unicellular creatures, up to human motherhood, self-sacrifice is the governing law. Group life involves and demands self-denials, self-sacrifice for the community welfare. Social progress is bought with martyrdoms. In the exercise of self-sacrifice for the good of one's fellows, one attains to moral character. And through willingness to "fill up the sacrifice" of our crossbearing exemplar, one attains to religion, to fellowship with God. As Browning sings:

> I think this is the authentic sign and seal
> Of godship, that it ever waxes glad,
> And more glad, until gladness blossoms, bursts
> Into a rage to suffer for mankind.

Thus self-sacrifice for brotherhood's sake is the means of self-realization and attainment of divine kinship. All this is incomprehensible to the devotee of supermanism. To him "the cross is foolishness." Nevertheless human society can never acquire stable equilibrium, nor can individual persons attain to morality and religion until self-sacrifice is accepted as the law and program of life. So long as the human race continues to do business on the basis of self-seeking and self-assertion, just so long must men and women and little children continue to welter in war and poverty and misery. Every other promised remedy for militarism's curse has been tried and failed. Why not try the way of the crossbearer? Why not transform our fighting? Instead of yielding up our lives to perpetuate the mankilling business why not give ourselves as "living sacrifices" to end war and to bless humanity? We may call ourselves Christians, but the cross of Jesus cannot save us unless we add our cross to his, that is to say, unless his cross inspires us to take up our own. As an English preacher puts it: "There is no reconciliation *by* the cross that is not reconciliation *to* the cross." Or, as Jacob Boehme expressed it, "If this sacrifice is to avail *for* me, it must be wrought *in* me." The central, vitalizing principle of soldierdom is self-sacrifice. Without this the soldier business could not go on for one day. Nor can a brotherly social order be bought at lower cost. From military warfare, therefore, we may learn the lesson of, and gather inspiration and momentum for, our transformed warfare.

The highest type of fighting under militarism is battling for one's nation. This is the largest and finest virtue a militarist can conceive of. But nations are only man-made groups, organized as means to an end, that end being the safeguarding of life, liberties and morals. Hence nations are sacred only as they really minister to human welfare. Too often, perhaps without exception, nations sooner or later put the means in place of the end, making men exist for the nation instead of the nation for men. Under such conditions nations destroy the very things for the protection of which governments are organized. In view of this almost unbroken record of the miscarriage of government, and in view of the palpably unjust and unnecessary wars in which governments embroil their citizens, thoughtful people increasingly are asking whether loyalty to nation is the final and worthiest kind of loyalty. There are soldierly souls in every land who dare to put loyalty to pan-human brotherhood above loyalty to nation group, loyalty to the whole above loyalty to a part, loyalty to love above loyalty to fear and hate, moral loyalty above political or legal loyalty.

The distinctive message of him who is called the "Prince of Peace" was God's universal Fatherhood and man's world-wide brotherhood. If those who call themselves by his name would manifest the same loyalty and bravery and self-sacrifice in behalf of moral ideals that they hitherto have displayed in behalf of national flags and military leaders, the mankilling enterprise speedily would come to an end and civilization would leap forward. The times call for a new soldiery, even an army of soldierly souls dedicated to that which Phillips Brooks described as "the higher battles of the higher soldiership." In this world crisis, when civilization is trembling in the balance, when mankind is at the fork of the road, only crossbearers can save the world. Prophets must proclaim the love message afresh, reform martyrs must starve and die for the cause of brotherhood. At such cost must the war instinct be harnessed to a diviner task. Those who truly believe in "Jesus' Way," those who accept the love law, will not look upon the Golden Rule as a mere "counsel of perfection," but adopt it as a life program. This is the world's crowning need—a soldiery of love, a spiritual army of persons who are willing to renounce the gospel of success and lay down their lives to make the world better and happier. A martyr leader calls for volunteers, for martyr followers. (Mark 8:34; 10:38; John 10:15, 17; 13:37; Rom. 12:1; 2 Cor. 1:7; Phil. 1:29; 3:10; Col. 1:24; 2 Tim. 1:8; 3:10-12; 4:6; 1 Pet. 2:21; 4:1, 12-13; 1 John 3:16.) "Who will go?" Who, for love's sake, will be as loyal, as brave, as self-sacrificing, as militarism's victims have been in hate's cause? Who will "fight the *good* fight" of morals, of brotherhood, of love? Who will give his life to help TRANSFORM THE WAR FUNCTION?

(THE END)

THE WINDFALL.

A stiff breeze shook my ancestral tree
And I fell to the ground.
A little unripe, a little bruised, a little wormy,
But an unmistakable Baldwin.
My brothers and sisters will ripen on the high boughs—
A perfect harvest on a proud old tree.
Their hearts grow mealy and sweet in the golden sun,
But mine—
Acrid, gnarled, tainted with early decay,
With dubious channels of the winding worm.
Ah, well! they'll never make me into a pie,
And perhaps some day my seed shall sprout in the kind orchard earth
And I shall have children.
Unmistakable Baldwins, every one.

The Phoenix (University of Chicago). —*Jessica North.*

A Book a Week

MARY BADOLLET POWELL MEMORIAL

A SHADOW PASSES. By Eden Phillpotts. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is a book beautiful: not for rich format, fine printing and exquisite binding (though in these respects it is fair enough); but rather for the fact that within its covers a beautiful life's golden treasury of spiritual insight, judgment, and appreciation has been gathered, the jewels in the crown of one soul's journey through the world.

"A Shadow Passes" is Eden Phillpotts' "book of thoughts," a sort of journal of the lovely things he has seen and heard in the path of life; but each "thought" is related definitely with every other "thought," so that the subject has unity in the fullest sense—as a man's philosophy indubitably should, if well and carefully organized. Thus the reader learns what the author thinks of God and Nature; the earth and its riches; man and his struggle; the soul and its passion; the heart and its romance; death and victory; sorrow, joy, faith and doubt; life in all its phases. And each "thought" is a prose poem, carefully modeled by a master hand. If Eden Phillpotts had written nothing else, his name should live.

Only an artist could have written:

> No light promised at sunset, yet just before hope died, one great saffron streak broke the western gloom and the dripping winter trees at forest side caught the flash upon their boughs and wove it into a glittering net of amber and gold. The signal and response were instantaneous; then the sunset gleam vanished; but the watchful trees had marked it and achieved another beauty. A great maxim: to lose no chance of achieving beauty.

A more scientific description of the wonderful picture the author saw might have been written, but would our blood have been equally stirred to new singing? With what gentle simplicity the impression is recorded and withal with what majesty! The very smallness of the canvas makes the painting all the fairer.

The glory and the wonder of his native Dartmoor must be a powerful stimulant to such a pen-man. From his cottage windows Phillpotts looks out across a veritable fairyland where everything is vibrant with life, where even the stones breathe; and to this wonderland he is Lord Historian "by special appointment."

But there is human life in Phillpotts' world as well, and thus he sees two ancient citizens:

> A withered wisp of a woman was picking wortleberries among the grey rocks on the heath. Life had bent her to the task as it seemed and she plucked away among the wiry scrub laden with black fruit. Her wrinkled fingers were stained to purple.
>
> "Hurts be picking well, master," she said.
>
> "So I see, mother; and how much will you get for your basket?"
>
> "Ninepence by evening I shouldn't wonder."
>
> "It's worth while I dare say."
>
> "It helps my grandson's beer," she explained. "He keeps me."
>
> So the long day's work will run down a thirsty young throat in a few more hours; but she was cheerful and contented.
>
> * * * * *
>
> I found an old tramp heavily asleep under an empty dung-cart that threw a patch of shade in a shadowless place. He lay there a decayed ruin, enjoying for an hour the blessing of unconsciousness. His pipe had fallen out of his mouth and I left an offering beside it without wakening him. He is near the end of his road and will get few other gifts but a coffin and a grave.

Sad portraits, but how true! Each of these two characters is worthy of a novelist, a *real* one like Thomas Hardy; the old woman probably once was beautiful and young; the man may have set out to conquer the world.

In another place, as though to strengthen our point, Phillpotts says:

> With the most ancient living men and women there is always something left from which you can reconstruct them and see them again as they must have been in green youth and vigor. It may be physical, but appears more often in their way of looking at things. The bark of character clings to the last.

But the author's sympathy is all-inclusive, as the following will show:

> Between two and three o'clock—at the half-way house of night—I heard slow hoofs below my window, and leaning out, saw under moonshine two great cart-horses wandering down the road together. They were enjoying a phase of their existence unknown to us. They conversed in little sounds and when one stopped, to snort and sniff at the water of a duck-pond by the way, the other also stopped, raised his head and looked steadfastly up into the starry sky. I saw the moonlight in his big eyes. Presently they put their noses together. Then one gave a slight start—perhaps at the opinions of the other—and side by side they sauntered away into the night-hidden land.
>
> One knew that they were revealing much about themselves concealed from their masters, and meditating upon life in their fashion while man slept.

Give your imagination free rein: now do you see these two good beasts under the quiet stars? The land that bred Phillpotts meant him to be a poet,—and a philosopher as well. A member of the rationalist school, the triumph of reason over ignorance is one of his goals. He says:

> We all back something, if only ourselves, and a man can no more disbelieve in everything than he can believe in opposites. Agnosticism is faith in the suspended judgment; atheism is faith that existence depends upon the properties of matter and not the purposes of conscious Will. The faith of most free-thinkers rests in a conviction that the possibilities latent in human reason suffice for right human progress. They do not pretend to know where reason will bring us; but they affirm, since the evolution of morals is upward and towards righteousness, that reason may be trusted above any other guide. They believe that, had the world been governed by reason, the present disaster had not fallen upon it.

Through some of his "thoughts" there runs a thread of sadness,—sadness so delicate and frail as to be almost musical. But Phillpotts is not a sorry pessimist. His dream, his vision, his hope is Youth; little children who will save the world:

> Let our hearts grow a little hotter for the boys and girls to be. Let us think upon them oftener, that when they come we can trust them to be wiser than ourselves; that when they have donned their flesh and we have doffed our own, they may look back and know that, despite our limitations, we loved them. The foreglow of such a hope is upon the horizon, but, curiously enough, the (orthodox) religious resent it.

"A Shadow Passes" is but a small book, as books come and go in these wasteful days; but it is a great book. Once you have read it, you will read it again. And,—oh test of all tests!—you will be moved to give it to your friends.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

News from Europe

The issue of UNITY a few weeks ago speaks of the plans made by the Society for the Over-Seas Settlement of British Women. To send them to the Colonies seems an easy way to dispose of them, but the Unions seem to look upon the plan in a different light. The London *Daily Herald* publishes the following:

T. F. Richards, president of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, calls the attention of English girls to the following extract from the "Toronto Globe":

"Some English girls who recently came to work here in the knitting factories are complaining that they are receiving from 15 to 20 dollars per week, when they were led to believe they would get from 20 to 25 dollars."

Mr. Richards points out that as there are girls earning above that amount in the shoe trade in this country it is not necessary for them to go to Canada to get it.

Rush of Volunteers:

A most extraordinary wave of patriotism has been aroused by the Polish offensive among Russians of all parties.

In Odessa former Denikin troops have requested the Soviet authorities to enroll them for the war.

Thousands are volunteering in Asia, even in remote Turkestan. Letts and White Russians living in Siberia met at Omsk and decided to take part in resisting the Polish aggression. Ukrainian and even Polish workers in the Samara region have volunteered for the Red Army.

But the question of most interest is the attitude of the people of the Ukraine itself. The reply is given in yesterday's Moscow wireless, which describes remarkable scenes at the Ukrainian Soviet Congress, which made a great demonstration against the invasion. A delegation of Polish workmen swore to fight side by side with the Soviet forces.

What France Proposes:

The Bill drafted by M. Thoumyre, the French Secretary of State for Food Supplies, provides for the requisitioning of all home-grown corn for a period of three years at a minimum price. The measure also provides, says Reuter, to establish a Government monopoly of all corn imports from abroad.

Caring for Jerusalem:

The Parliamentary Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian,* writing from the House of Commons, says:

There has, I understand, been a good deal of anxiety lately over the future of Jerusalem. Not long ago an elaborate plan was drawn up for modernizing the city which found a certain amount of favor in high places. A pro-Jerusalem society was formed with the object of preserving the character of the city. Representations were made by persons in Egypt and elsewhere that the scheme, if put into execution, would be in the nature of a calamity. It has now, I am told, been dropped.

Jerusalem, by the way, should have a doughty champion in Sir Herbert Samuel when he goes to Palestine. He is already a member of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. One remembers his activities when at the L. G. B. in the matters of the coal-smoke nuisance and ugly advertisements. Jerusalem suffers from both. It is also defaced by the commercial buildings erected by Germans, Americans, and English in the years before the war. I hear that the design for the proposed University for Jews will be in keeping with the elder face of the city.

Navvy-Poet's Rise:

Patrick MacGill, the navvy-poet, lecturing at the International Socialist Club, East-road, N., told the story of the publication of his first book. It was printed at his own expense, and he and a mate hawked it from door to door in Glasgow.

The latter, a big, powerful navvy, was the more successful salesman. He had a way of planting his foot so that the door could not be shut against him, and his arguments were forcible enough to land him twice in gaol. But the book proved to be MacGill's stepping-stone to fame.

Simply and modestly he told his own story, from his half-starved boyhood in Donegal to his experiences in the war.

Schools for Mothers:

The following from *The Manchester Guardian* is interesting reading. This is another name for what The Infant Welfare Society is doing for Chicago babies:

One of the bad old myths of the Victorian days, and one which was unconsciously long in dying, held that the science of motherhood needed no learning. Among the poorer people, no matter how young or inexperienced the woman, she was supposed to be endowed at her baby's birth with immense wisdom as to the rearing of it and an instinct for its welfare which could not go wrong. And if after a few months the baby died through her indiscriminate generosity in food, then she had been harshly treated by Providence, and her friends could only hope that another venturesome little life would be committed to her care. A hundred years ago, the mother in the so-called "working classes" who brought half her children to maturity had done very well, and it was practically a foregone conclusion that the eldest of a family should not live beyond its first birthday. For the sake of these baby victims to the unguided maternal instinct, the Schools for Mothers were started. The group in Manchester held its annual meeting yesterday. At these centers the expectant mother is given all the moral and physical help she needs for her own comfort and for the glory of the hope she carries. Later on, she brings her baby each week to be weighed and medically examined and, if necessary, to receive food and medicine at prices far below those charged in shops. Classes are held to teach her to make clothes and mend boots for her children—arts at which even the omniscient mothers of the last century would find their instinct of little practical use—while the fortunate beneficiaries of her skill are being "minded" in another room. From the day she first brings news of her happiness to the time when the child reaches school age, both it and she need never lack any help that the Schools for Mothers can offer. In Manchester much of the financial cost of the work is borne by the Corporation, but for the rest it depends on the kindness of the public. No venture is more worthy of support. It is the foundation of all other schemes for municipal welfare. To give a brave start to the lives of little children in the darker parts of the city is to go a very long way towards safeguarding the future prosperity and happiness of it.

"BUT WE DID WALK IN EDEN."

But we did walk in Eden,
Eden, the garden of God;—
There, where no beckoning wonder
Of all the paths we trod,
No choiring sun-filled vineyard,
No voice of stream or bird,
But was some radiant oracle
And flaming with the Word!

Mine ears are dim with voices;
Mine eyes yet strive to see
The black things here to wonder at,
The mirth,—the misery.
Beloved, who wert with me there,
How came these shames to be?—
On what lost star are we?

Men say: The paths of gladness
By men were never trod!—
But we have walked in Eden,
Eden, the garden of God.

—*Josephine Preston Peabody.*

The Federal government has purchased all the large lithographs made by Joseph Pennell of war work in America. These drawings, seventy in number, will soon be displayed in the Library of Congress or the National Museum in Washington. The British government has also purchased all of the original lithographs of war work made by Joseph Pennell in England.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

WHAT ENGLAND THINKS OF AMERICA.

The ministers who are to speak in England this summer under the direction of the World Alliance on International Friendship are just arriving, and arranging their schedules. These are made up with the assistance of the secretaries of the English speaking union, now in its new office in the Trafalgar building, at Trafalgar Square.

There is no lack of opportunity to speak in the interest of Anglo-American friendship before church and other audiences wherever they may be gathered. The only limitation comes through the lack of week-day audiences during the summer months. The churches right heartily welcome these speakers. They are anxious to hear what these men have to say in explanation of the action of the American congress regarding the League of Nations and the Irish question.

Englishmen feel as only the more thoughtful Americans do, the very great importance of the friendly understanding between the two great English speaking peoples, in view of the present threatening situation in the whole European world. They feel that Europe is indeed on the verge of a collapse. The democracy for which the war was fought is far from being established. The world is in flux. For leadership, the world has a right to look first of all to these two peoples possessing, as they do, the rich traditions of democratic ideals. But these relations of friendship where it ought most to be found are greatly threatened, by the failure of America to enter the League of Nations, especially her refusal on the ground of a selfish isolation; and secondly by her assumption of right to speak on the vexed question of the relation of Ireland to Britain. The interest in this matter is manifest in the celebration of the fourth of July throughout England. The churches remembered the day with special services, in sermon and in prayer. The newspapers carried vigorous editorials, and the London *Times* went so far as to publish an American edition with supplement of thirty-two pages. This supplement contained for the most part articles written by Americans of international standing, explaining the present attitude of America, and her point of view regarding the international questions. One notable article by Viscount Bryce was set to the task of making clear to American minds the actual present attitude of the British Government toward Ireland, especially the willingness to grant Home Rule, and the refusal of a minority party to accept this solution, even with the threat of armed resistance to it. It is a notable contribution to mutual understanding.

Britain cannot understand our policy of isolation. It is hard for her to realize the traditional provincialism of America, and the resultant situation which allowed the senate to make a party football of the League of Nations treaty. Yet it is surprising how accurately some of the writers hit the situation off after all. One of them said recently: "The Paris Conference stabbed President Wilson with his program for the reconciliation of the world in the breast; the United States Senate stabbed him in the back." And as to our politicians, and likewise some of their own, a vigorous speaker used this word: "Whereas in the days of old men like Lincoln stuck to principles and manipulated men; the politicians of today stick to men and manipulate principles."

Regarding the Irish question, there seems to be no satisfactory explanation here, except that America does not understand, and because of what Owen Wister calls the "complex of anti-British feeling, due to a misinterpretation of the American Revolution given by our school books, friends of Ireland are able to make the people believe that the Irish are an oppressed people, and to stir up feeling against Britain. They are anxious to explain that Britain is more than ready to do anything that can be done to satisfy the Irish people, admitting of course that in the past generations there has been injustice which is largely responsible for the present hatred on the part of the Irish. They feel that America ought to know the truth and that when she does a better feeling will result.

There is a rather enjoyable desire for the frankest possible statement of points of view. One or two ministers have written: "Let the American ministers visiting our churches feel perfectly free to offer criticism of our government. We need it." The article by Franklin Lane on "The British Policy Regarding the Oil Supply of the World" in the *Times* supplement is very pointed in its criticism of the British government for its "unsportsmanlike" procedure in discriminating throughout all of its colonies and mandates against investors who are not British subjects. Yet the *Times* offers no criticism of his frank statement. Mr. Lane is right in his declaration that nothing is to be gained by refraining to speak frankly. This is the sort of discussion that should be encouraged everywhere on both sides of the Atlantic. It is the only way to overcome the perverted views and resultant bitterness aroused by such publications as the Hearst papers on our side of the water, and John Bull on this side. There surely must be a vigorous, systematic, persistent presentation of the truth concerning all these questions that threaten to disturb the mutual good-will of these two peoples that have so much in common. That is the way to mutual understanding as to the essential character and purposes of each of the nations. That mutual understanding is the only basis of a lasting friendship, and sympathy. This sympathetic friendliness is the soul of democracy, which alone can vitalize and perpetuate democratic institutions. It is a source of real joy to be able to set one's hand in some modest way to so great a task.

HARRY FOSTER BURNS.

London, England, July 7, 1920.

THE REAL WAR TO END WAR.

The International Congress of Ex-Soldiers, held at Geneva, Switzerland, in May, and attended by representatives of ex-soldiers' organizations of France, Germany, Alsace, Italy, England, and Switzerland, adopted the following "pact" as its charter. Henri Barbusse was chairman of the congress and delivered the chief address at the opening session.

The International Congress of Ex-Soldiers considers:

(1) That war is an inevitable consequence of the capitalist regime;

(2) That real and effective combat against war must reach its cause, the capitalist regime;

Consequently, it considers it the duty of the former soldiers to undertake a general war against war in accord with the Socialist and labor organizations which are fighting the same battle. Nevertheless, in this general struggle against capitalism, in which they must unremittingly play their part, the ex-soldiers have a special role and function.

The ex-soldiers agree:

(a) To conduct an intensive pacifist and anti-militarist propaganda to create an anti-war spirit in the masses in every country, particularly among the women, the youth, and the children;

(b) Not to help the "League of Nations" which cannot attain their ends and which they condemn as they condemn similar bourgeois institutions established to guarantee the conquests of the imperialists as opposed to the working classes;

(c) That inasmuch as war is a collective action which individual action cannot meet, they render homage to a refusal to bear arms as an active and worthy form of propaganda, but the International Congress of Ex-Soldiers considers that the individual attitude to be taken at the moment of mobilization must be left to the consciences of its members;

(d) That they regard any mobilization, nevertheless, as ultimately an attack upon the working class of the world, always defeated in every armed conflict;

(e) That they do not intend to substitute themselves at such a moment for the working class organizations to provoke the general strike, forerunner of the revolution and of the conquest of political power by the working class.

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UPHOLDING THE LAW.

Louis F. Post has rendered his countrymen a great service in taking his stand against official mob law. Mob law is never excusable, but one can understand the reason for it when people are suddenly confronted with some enormity that outrages their sense of decency or justice. This, however, can never serve as an excuse for government officials who are not only sworn to uphold the law, but who are far removed from the provocation to sudden anger.

Attorney General Palmer may continue to throw out smoke screens, but they will not cover his department's flagrant disregard of justice and constitutional procedure which has caused United States District Judge Anderson of Boston to exclaim regarding the acts committed in that State, "A more lawless procedure is hard to conceive."

The question at issue between Mr. Post on the one hand, and Mr. Palmer and the Congressional Committee on the other, is not whether or not certain aliens should be deported, but whether it shall be done according to the whim of a czar or in accordance with American law. Few will question the right to exclude objectionable aliens, but such exclusion should be done only in strict conformity with law.

Mr. Post's action raises the old, old question of whether we are to have a government of law or a government of men. It is the question of free speech itself. If men speak unlawful words the fact must be determined by a court of law, and not by the police power. If the police are to say when a man may speak and what he may say, then are law and courts set at naught. The very fact that Mr. Post had authority to stay the arbitrary hand of the Attorney General, shows a lacking in the law.

The prime reason for civil government is that it regulates human relations by law instead of by the arbitrary will of temporary rulers; and the merit of democracy lies in the fact that all the people have their part in making the law. In this instance the rights of Americans as well as aliens are involved. All upholders of democracy, therefore, should rally to the support of Mr. Post in his stand for constitutional law.—*Taxation.*

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